1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Lakemba

Whenever the Sau is walking about, whoever comes to report drops to the grass cross-legged and stooping, and claps. When he superintends work, the Sau gives imperative orders. When he goes abroad he is given a wide berth. All practice towards him that avoidance which is exercised between father and son of high rank.

Towards the present Randi Naiau, the nobles are polite but show no fear. The ladies are respectfully familiar, but treat her as a stranger.

Of old, the Lord of Naiau had many wives, but only one bore the title of Lady of Naiau, who was installed at the same time as the Lord of Naiau. Taliai married sisters; upon the death of one who was Lady of Naiau, the second succeeded to the title. The chief wife was also called *lewa mbau* and her house was the chief's. If there was a wife from Mbau she would be Randi Naiau, because Mbau was the greatest state in Fiji.

The other wives are called *i solonga*, a respectful term which means to marry. They obeyed the Randi Naiau. A lady from a state, such as Lomaloma or Totoya, had her individual house. The wives from Lau lived three to five in a house. The cooking was done by the lowborn wives, called kitchen women or servants (*vanda*).

The former state of Lords of Naiau must be reconstituted from heresay:

> The Lord of Naiau did not go to the war. He was old and white-haired and stayed at home, and would say "Do this and that; get a kava bowl from Kambara." He did not go about at night. In the daytime he went a little with his elders (*matapule*) to plant; he then came back and kava was made with the nobles from Tonga. This was done every day, and a feast was brought daily from all Lakemba. The people hunted, fished, and made puddings as a kava collation. There was not a day when the old men were absent from the Big House; their clans in turn would make a feast for them.
>
> Formerly, the elders could not look at or speak to Tui Naiau; their mouth had to be turned away and they looked down. They could not speak back, and would clap their hands by way of answer. If asked a direct question, they answered with averted faces. However, in the days of the late Chief, one lady could sit higher than Tui Naiau and speak loud in his presence because her mother was his elder sister . . . There is not a word possible against him; he is Tui Naiau. We only live to work in order that he may eat. If he orders pigs to be brought, they are brought; we are not angry.
>
> The Roko Sau is endowed with miraculous efficacy (mana) towards all, not like lesser nobles to his juniors only.
>
> Thus if a lowborn person lies on the bed of the Chief or uses his cloth, the mana of it infects him; he gets a swollen neck or belly. The Roko Sau touches the place to remove the swelling. A dog once drank the water used by Malani, the Tui Naiau, and got a swollen belly. One village chief, a great courtier, says: "There was no famine under Ratu Finau. There was a famine under Maafu, one time Tongan governor, and a severe one under Ratu Erone, but none now; probably because Ratu Finau's rule is justified in Heaven (*udonu mai Lomalangi*), because he has given up statute labor and first fruits.

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Lakemba

fathoms. Some were made of *yasa kiki*, a thing like a fan adorned with bark cloth and hala and tied to a long coir string. These pennants are now called *kuila*, but it is not known where the word comes from; the Fijian is *tawake*. In Lakemba and Ongea the pennant is tied high up the mast; in other places, lower down; but no canoes were allowed to come into Lakemba with pennant flying except those of a nobleman or a great sister's son (*vasu*) (p. 40).

If a canoe belonging to commoners came in they lowered the sail outside the passage and paddled in. Otherwise they would be beaten. On arriving opposite the landing place commoners sang out, *"O oa."* If a whole fleet were coming, the commoners would wait till all arrived and come in together, salute, beach their canoes, and go to Big House to report. It was forbidden to pass on the outrigger side, that is to the windward, of a nobleman, because the nobleman's canoe would be lower. If a canoe coming in were to pass on the outrigger side of a nobleman's canoe which was just about to leave, the commoners would land and bring a whale's tooth as a supplication because it was unbecoming towards a nobleman. In such a circumstance they need not be introduced by a herald.

If a canoe is wrecked and the crew reach land the people of that island make a feast for them and give them clothes. The crew go home and prepare mats and sheets of bark cloth and some time or other bring them to the chief of the island.

If a shipwrecked man lands in safety, his people hold a feast called *i mburua mbula*, a "living death-feast."

FISHING

Net Fishing

Fish are most abundant round the north coast from Waitambu to Nasangalau, because the reef is farther out and mangrove trees are plentiful there.

The *nungga* is the choicest fish, yet the *sangga* is the fish for nobles, probably because of its great size. The head of the fish is given to the chief. Some fish are poisonous at certain times of the year.

Cetaceans, classed as fish, are not eaten. One kind of porpoise which comes up vertically, is said to be chief (*turanga*) among porpoises. Turtle is also classed as fish.

The word *nggoli*, though a general term for fishing applies more particularly to fishing with nets.

The usual method of fishing is by driving into nets The women blacken their faces with soot or powder them with turmeric as a protection

2: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

621 133 [312] Fresh water is scarce in Tokalau. The village reservoir is out of repair. Rain water is collected in small tanks or barrels from the tin roofs of several houses, and from a fresh water hole (named Nai Mariko), located in the nearby bush. Two concavities in the village mark the dry sites of brackish water holes.

621 133 712 Old informants say that at least some of the ancestors of Tokalau inhabitants lived in Nakorovusa (p. 217), a fortress on the cliffs above Tokalau, before moving in Christian times, when Manoa was chief of Kambara, to Nakoro, the old village of Tokalau. Tokalau people also occupied Ndelaioloi (p. 218), the fortress at the summit of the hill above the village. Naisevou (p. 216; fig. 21), a fortified village just below Nakorovusa, was built by the nobles of Tokalau; and Korokoroilulu, on the slopes of Ndelaioloi, was a hamlet of the Katoka clan of the land people, the aboriginal inhabitants of Kambara.

LOMATCHI

621 133 Lomatchi, the lowest ranking village on Kambara, lies half a mile south of Tokalau on the west coast of Kambara at the foot of Ndelaioloi. Its title is Numbaravi. Lomatchi, the smallest village on the island, has only 47 inhabitants, occupying nine sleeping houses. Most of the houses are built directly on the ground, since many houses built on stone-faced mounds were destroyed by a hurricane a few years ago. The houses form two rows, one on each side of the road, which runs parallel to the shore. A path to the gardens on Ndelaioloi, where Lomatchi owns a relatively large amount of good garden land, meets the road at the north end of the village. The village fishing grounds, which extend along the adjacent shore from Vatu Loaloa to Salia, are the best on Kambara.

[312] A concrete reservoir provides fresh water for the village, and brackish water is obtained from a hole 250 meters northward.

Informants say that formerly the natives of Lomatchi occupied Nawi and Old Lomatchi hamlets in the garden land above the present village site. They used two fortresses on the cliffs above the present village, Nakoroyangai to the south, and Nakaka (p. 218) to the north. In Christian times they moved to Vuniviavia (also called Vuninggalaka), a village site between Lomatchi and the cliffs. There is a dispute between the elders of west Kambara concerning the name of this site. During the epidemic of measles in Lau (1875) they moved to Naisauvesi on the sandy flat north of the village where the house sites may be seen, and thence to the present village site.

NGGALINGGALI

Nggalinggali (called Tanggu by the natives) is the ranking village on the east side of the island. Its title is Na Koro, the name of the fortress site on the cliff above the village.

2: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

Hocart's statement (15, p. 126) that there is no spitting at the *kanusiwi vale* ceremony does not hold for southern Lau.

The spitting ceremony marks the strict division of the interior of the house into three sections (p. 64), but, inasmuch as the house has been built by the communal labor of the whole village, the villagers have the privilege of entering the main doorway and sitting down in the lower part of the house at any time.

House Protection. Long poles and fish spears are usually kept leaning against the roof to hold down the thatch. On houses exposed to strong wind, coconut leaves are tied together in pairs by the upper ends and hung as roof weights, astride the ridgepole, to prevent the wind from lifting the thatch or carrying away the roof. The natives say that during hurricanes they crowd together in small low houses and hold down the roof with their hands.

Occasionally dwelling houses are protected from evil spirits by magic prophylactics. They are usually directed against particular spirits. For example, the owner of the house in which I lived in Tokalau had planted a clump of giant taro (*via*) beside the steps leading to the main entrance to protect the inhabitants from Tutumatua (23, p. 127), an evil spirit, who had caused the owner's wife to become ill. If Tutumatua, who had elephantiasis of the leg, attempted to visit the house again, he would see the giant taro plant with its swollen, knobbed roots, and, ashamed of the resemblance of the roots to his leg, would leave immediately. A branch of *uthi* leaves is occasionally hung inside a house to protect it from evil spirits.

House furnishings

Shutters (*i songo*) are attached to the doorways of a house and used as a protection against wind and rain. There are two main types of shutters: *i songo mbekambeka*, made of *mbekambeka* mats (p. 203) hung on hinges of pandanus to one side of the doorway; and *i songo tambakau*, made of *tambakau* mats (p. 203) sewn together with pandanus, hung above the door, rolled, and tied with sennit. Wooden doors (*i songo papa*) hung on metal hinges to a wooden door frame are seen occasionally in modern houses. Formerly a hearth (*matandravu*), used for cooking and lighting, was set off by blocks of wood in the lower part of the house to the left of the main entrance. Hearths are still found in a few small dwelling houses on Fulanga. The smoke rises through the thatch or the doorways and protects the house from mosquitoes. When mosquitoes are particularly prevalent, green leaves are burned in fires built on the foundation mound outside the doorway to windward.

For light, wood from the *sesua* (*Vavaea vitiensis*) tree is burned in the fireplace. Besides firelight, oil lamps (*thina*) are used. The lamp consists of a scraped half-coconut shell, in which a wick made of the midrib of a single coconut leaflet (*sasa*) wrapped in barkcloth is placed upright either by stick-

2: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

501 396 When the hull reached the shore a large feast was held. The hull of the small canoe was prepared in the same way. Next the head- and stern-boards were constructed. The two canoes were connected by booms called *i kaso*. If the double canoe was built by a *lemaki* carpenter the small canoe (*thama*) was attached on the right of the large canoe (*kata*). A wide deck was constructed over the booms and a small canoe house (*vale wangga*) was built on [354] deck. A fireplace (*mata ndravu*), at the end of the canoe house toward the stern, was shifted according to the tack. It consisted of a large hollow block of *puko* wood or a large kava bowl. Sand or clay was placed in the hollow, then earth oven stones. A wood fire was built on the stones and removed when they were hot. Food wrapped in green leaves (banana, breadfruit, or *cvuevu*) was placed on the hot stones and covered with leaves.

While the canoe was under construction it was tabu for any person unaccompanied by the carpenter to look at it. If the tabu was broken the offender had to make atonement (*ore*).

A Fijian double canoe of the *sauthoko* type, belonging to Percy Turner of Suva, has been described by Hornell (16, pp. 319-324).

A great feast was held at the launching of a double canoe. The chief, standing on the float, directed the race. Then the carpenter presented property consisting of woodwork collected from his clan, together with the canoe itself, to the chief. This was called *musu wangga*. In return the chief gave craft articles, a piece of land, or a woman to the carpenter.

On the double canoe parts of the deck called the *nggela tambu*, the *thaku* [622] *thamba*, and the *vale wangga* (canoe house) were reserved for the chief. A chief's canoe carried a flag of *masi* attached to the yard.

Tambetembete

501 Double canoes exceeding the length of a single tree (at most about 13 meters) were made of planks built up on a keel. This type was called *tambetembete*. None is found in Fiji today, but a double canoe believed to be of the *tambetembete* type is described and illustrated by Williams (27, vol. 1, pp. 73-76, fig. p. 86).

An old informant, Semitchi of Mbutonikoro, Mothe, told me of a *tambetembete* double canoe called Tangimautchia. It was built on Fulanga just [731] before the measle epidemic in 1875 by Setareki, *matai* (carpenter) *Yalona*, from Tonga, for Tupou, a Tongan chief. Tupou remained in Tonga and sent his herald, Hala Hafihafi, to Fulanga. Hala Hafihafi and his wife and children remained on the island during the two years required to construct the canoe. The *tambetembete* was of greenheart with mat sail. Semitchi, who was about 16 years old at the time, was a member of the crew which sailed her to Tonga. Ten of the crew were Tongans. There were about 25 men and women aboard. The canoe carried a load of mats from Fulanga. They sailed north-

3: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934) 1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

stones. It is covered with green leaves and earth and steamed for an hour or more. With the "true food" is served a dish consisting of fish, if possible, and edible green leaves boiled in coconut cream. The ingredients for the boiled dish are gathered and prepared in large imported iron pots by the women. Formerly earthenware pots made in Lau were used, but pots are no longer made.[2] Without fish the meal is considered very poor indeed.

Most families have sufficient initiative to cope with the food problem in years of normal rainfall, so that the islands are practically self-sufficient. But when a violent hurricane sweeps over the islands, destroying harvests and habitations—or a long, searing drought withers the crops—even the coarsest edible jungle roots will not cover the needs of the famine island inhabitants, who would starve without the rice and flour which are rushed to their aid by the colonial government in Suva. Such a hurricane occurred in 1936.

Fortunately catastrophes of this kind do not occur often, but drought is a constant menace. Rain is quickly absorbed through the sharp, porous limestone. There are no streams and only a very few water holes, which are usually brackish. Practically all the fresh water used by the natives must be collected in tanks and wooden bowls from roofs of imported sheet iron or of thatch. The natives, however, require amazingly little fresh water. They drink the sweet milk of the young coconut, steam their food in the earth oven or boil it in coconut cream, and bathe in the sea. Only since they have donned *lavalavas* of cloth have they needed fresh water for laundering. The government has aided the natives in building small cement reservoirs roofed with sheet iron for each village, but the natives are so little concerned with the lack of fresh water that they do not repair the reservoirs, and few of them are in use.

[2] L. Thompson, "The Pottery of the Lau Islands, Fiji," *Journal of the Polynesian Society*, Vol. 47, No. 3, 1938.

3: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934) 1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

439 the natives regained most of their economic independence.
178 However, a few trade articles such as bush knives, metal axes,
434 trade cloth, soap, and cooking pots, have so far proved indispensable, and in 1934 enough copra was produced to exchange for these bare necessities which were still obtainable at a few centers. By this time there was no regular transportation to and from southern Lau. Most of the traveling of the natives was done by sailing canoes which had been revived. Otherwise an occasional visit by a Chinese owned trade cutter to replenish the supply of trade goods, a government ship for inspection, or a wandering scientist were the only contacts with the outside world.

731 The situation caused by the depressed market of 1931 was
439 aggravated by a hurricane which hit the Fiji islands in that
435 year. Actually the lowest point in the copra depression in
245 Fiji was not reached until 1934, when the local price fell to £3.12.6 per ton.[40] Since 1934 the price and the production of copra has increased until 34,581 tons were produced at about £9.5.4 per ton in 1936. However, the price of copra was still barely high enough to cover the cost of production.

439 It is estimated that two-thirds of the 1936 copra crop in
245 Fiji was produced by natives. This indicates that the native production of copra is increasing rapidly, but native methods of drying are primitive and tend to produce a poor quality of copra which sells at lower than market price. For some years the department of agriculture has been experimenting with small cheap types of hot air dryers in an effort to perfect a type suitable for use by native producers. A type of sawn
[654] timber kiln costing from £5 to £6 was first erected for demonstration purposes at the Agricultural Station at Navuso. This kiln produces copra which sells at a premium of 10s. per ton. Under government encouragement the natives are gradually becoming interested in it and this interest is spreading throughout the Fiji group. A satisfactory kiln made of

[40] It is estimated that 50% of the crop of 23,536 tons was produced by natives.

3: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934) 1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

753 rooted in the Lauan fundamental psychological set, for on matters dealing with the vital forces of the clan—life, sickness and death—the natives are naturally very slow to change. Hence the introduction of modern hygiene and medicinal measures is bound to be a painstaking and difficult process.

539 BIRTHS EXCEED DEATHS

Oi lei nonggou turanga ko sa mbui ti au!
Sa lako e na sala ka senga ni lesu tale mai!

Alas, my chief, alas!
He has gone along the path and will never return!

Death chant for the chief of Fulanga.

164 731 BEFORE the coming of the white man the Fiji islands, like other South Sea groups, had a limited variety of disease germs. Yaws, ankylostomiasis, leprosy, and elephantiasis were present, probably also tuberculosis. It is doubtful whether or not there was dysentery. Malaria, venereal disease, and infectious fevers such as measles, influenza, and whooping cough were absent. As in other parts of the Pacific new varieties of disease germs, brought by the white man, were fatal to the natives who had no resistance or immunity against them. The most disastrous epidemic recorded in Fiji was that of measles in 1875, one year after annexation of the islands by Great Britain. It is estimated that this epidemic wiped out one-third of the entire population of Fiji, and aged Lauans who survived it still tell how they helped to bury the dead of their villages. The people of Muanaithake, Fulanga, say that a row of skeletons on the beach some distance southeast of the village bears witness to this great tragedy, during which the living could not find time to bury the dead.

161 164 731 In 1881 the native population had fallen to 114,748, in 1891 to 105,800, and in 1905 to a low point just under 87,000, mainly because of dysentery, whooping cough and a second epidemic of measles. For the next six years the population remained

3: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934) 1940 OQ6 La OQ6
Kambara

stationary. In 1911 it began a slow but steady increase which has continued to the present, with the exception of the influenza epidemic in 1918, which reduced the population to the lowest point, 82,000 in 1919-20. In 1936 the native population of Fiji reached 97,651.[63]

The colonial government has been directly concerned with the Fijian population problem, and has made great efforts to prevent depopulation and bring about an increase in the numbers and health of the natives. In 1893 a commission was formed to study the problem of remedies for depopulation, and its monumental recommendations have formed the basis for modern health and medical policy in Fiji and other parts of the Pacific.[64]

The death rate has fallen from over 50 per 1,000 in 1891 to the lowest point of less than 18 per 1,000 in 1933. Chiefly because of dysentery, enteric fever, and pneumonia it rose to 28 per 1,000 in 1936. Dr. S. M. Lambert, director of the Rockefeller Foundation work in Fiji, states "historically the death line shows, to my mind, what constructive medical work can do for a native people. The gradual fall in the death rate can almost be measured in terms of the expansion of medical effort."[65]

[63] In 1936 the total population of Fiji was as follows:

	Persons	*Percentages*
Europeans	4,028	2.03
P.E.N.D. (Anglo-Fijians, Anglo-Polynesians, and others)	4,574	2.31
Fijians	97,651	49.22
Indians	85,002	42.85
Polynesians	3,553	1.79
Melanesians	1,616	.82
Chinese	1,751	.88
All others	204	.10
	198,379	100.00

(Colony of Fiji, Census Report, 1936, p. 4.)

[64] For recommendations of this commission see *Report of the 1893 Commission on Fijian Depopulation.*

[65] S. M. Lambert, *"The Depopulation of Pacific Races,"* Bishop Museum Special Publication 23, Honolulu, 1934, p. 22.